/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirê, peráta; pirápirê, paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá miriin, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

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423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbyá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Tsaná /Chaco/ and Tsiriguáno /Chiriguano/, Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vargas, the chiefs /37/ are the sole owners of the land. Retimyo said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (1).

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1. /Page p. 94 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1919, p. 101.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Trade with Neo-Brazilians

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the *maté* groves; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor.

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *bolichos*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cured tobacco which some of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[10] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá.

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[10] Among the Cayuá in 1942 there were some fair machetes of Brazilian manufacture, very many—thirty better than two, implements no Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The latter grades of imported tools, Collins (*Enxadas*) and "Gravet" (Sheffield-plate) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

Cayuá Peonage

In turning now to Cayuá peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayuá to "*changucar*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayuá culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayuá.

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It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayuá and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayuá culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayuá experiments with new plants in their *rozas*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved seeds (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayuá economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayuá goods and services, not only within Cayuá society but also within

[436].

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and promotion, the Cayuá who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of expansion,[40] is worth so much to repay an client. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", less in worth. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the "terrain," or work involved, is

[40] Actually, a unit of work is not a unit area, but rather a unit of time, since the area cleared in a day will vary with the density of the forest.